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THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE IMMIGRANT.

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I. THE PROBLEM OF AMERICANIZATION.

"Americanization" is assimilation in the United States. It is that process by which immigrants are transformed into Americans. It is not the mere adoption of American citizenship, but the actual raising of the immigrant to the American economic, social and moral standard of life. Then has an immigrant been Americanized only when his mind and will have been united with the mind and will of the American so that the two act and think together. The American of to-day is, therefore, not the American of yesterday. He is the result of the assimilation of all the different nationalities of the United States which have been united so as to think and act together.

Again, Americanization is very different from amalgamation.¹ Amalgamation is but one force which appears in the Americanization process and that an unimportant one, as it usually occurs only after the immigrant has been at least partly Americanized. Furthermore, "to think and act together" does not necessitate that race ties are wholly lost. That is its usual meaning, but nationalities such as the Jews, Italians, Bohemians and even Scandinavians often settle in practically exclusive settlements. Such settlements are Americanized in as much as the immigrants learn to think and act like Americans. "To think and act together" in some cases is, therefore, to think and act like Americans, and in others it is the actual uniting of the minds and activities of the immigrants with those of the Americans by actual, permanent association.

Finally, it is essential to recognize degrees of Americanization. Some immigrants will adopt certain American methods, customs and ideas, but will refuse, or prove themselves unable, to adopt others. Some will, quite fully, adopt the industrial methods of American

¹Prof. Commons, *Chaut.*, 28 : 42 ; Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9 : 670.

industry and yet be unable to speak the English language. While they are not fully Americanized, they are at least to a greater or less degree.

The Size of the Problem.

The bulk of the problem will show what the various Americanization forces have to contend with. The mere number of immigrants who come each year shows something in this direction. In 1904 the number amounted to 812,870, and in 1905 it reached 1,026,499.² The following table of percentages shows that, in 1900, 34.2 per cent. of the total population was of foreign parentage and 13.6 per cent. was actually of foreign birth. The separation of the figures into smaller divisions is still more significant. In the North Atlantic Division, for example, 51.1 per cent. of the total population is of foreign parentage and 22.6 per cent. are immigrants. On the other hand, in the South Atlantic Division the percentages are but 5.9 and 2.1, respectively. These figures show, therefore, not merely the size of the problem from the physical standpoint, but also that there is a tendency to crowd it into certain localities:

TABLE I.
*Nativity in the United States.*³

Division.	Native Par.	Foreign Par.	Foreign Birth.
United States	65.9	34.2	13.6
North Atlantic Division.....	48.9	51.1	22.6
South Atlantic Division	94.1	5.9	2.1
North-Central Division.....	55.8	44.2	15.8
South-Central Division.....	92.4	7.6	2.5
Western Division	52.4	47.6	20.7

An investigation of separate States shows that in fifteen States more than 50 per cent. of the population is of foreign parentage and that in seven the per cent. goes above 60.⁴ The same crowding of the problem into localities is again shown. The statistics for cities also present this side of the problem.⁵ In New York, Chicago, San

²Reports U. S. Commissioner of Immigration.

³U. S. Census, Vol. 1, pp. 806-808; Vol. 1, p. (XCIX), (CIII), 485 (Population). "Foreign Parentage" includes Foreign Birth.

⁴U. S. Census, Vol. I, pp. 806-808; Vol. I, p. (XCIX), (CIII).

⁵U. S. Census of Pop., Vol. I, pp. cix, cxii and 609.

Francisco, Detroit, Cleveland and Milwaukee more than 75 per cent. of the people are of foreign parentage, and in every large city, except in the South, the per cent. goes above 50. Statistics also demonstrate that in each instance the per cent. of foreign population in the principal cities of a State is larger than for the remainder of the country.⁶

The problem is further explained by noticing the great multiplicity of nationalities and races composing this large bulk of immigrants.⁷ All of them have distinct characteristics, some being more easily influenced than others. Again, some can be influenced only by certain forces and others by different conditions. Some nationalities possess a greater capacity to become Americanized than others, and some have a larger degree of willingness.

Illiteracy is also an important factor in this respect. Whether or not, it is a test of the immigrant's capacity, the great difference in the literacy of the various nationalities certainly indicates that one nationality presents a different problem from another.

Is the Problem Becoming More or Less Difficult?

The statistics of the total annual immigration to the United States since 1870 indicate that the absolute number of immigrants is rapidly increasing. When, however, these statistics are viewed relative to the total population, no increase is noticeable, so that from the mere standpoint of population the problem is not becoming more difficult. Far more important, however, is an examination of the component parts of the total number of immigrants. The statistics show that a change in the source of immigration has taken place. Formerly the bulk of immigrants came from northern European countries; now they come more and more from southern and southeastern Europe, where the capacity and willingness for Americanization is not as great.

The illiteracy of these separate races also shows an increasing difficulty. The illiteracy of those races who are more and more gaining the upper hand in immigration to the United States is very high, while that of the races who formerly composed the bulk of immigration is comparatively very low. In many cases, also, the

⁶U. S. Ind. Com. Report, Vol. 15, p. 278. E. D. Durand.

⁷U. S. Com. Immigration Reports.

immigrants from southern and southeastern Europe in themselves are becoming increasingly illiterate.⁸

Furthermore, the tendency to crowd into cities, formerly shown, means an increased difficulty in the problem of Americanization. Finally, a greater and greater proportion of the immigrants cannot speak the English language. In the aggregate it seems, therefore, that the problem is becoming greater and more complex.

II. THE FORCES OF AMERICANIZATION.

The question now to determine is: What is being done to meet this growing difficulty in the problem of Americanization? What are the Americanizing forces? How do they affect the immigrant? Are they the same for all nationalities? Are they the same for the city as for the country? To what extent are they successful with the various nationalities? What forces are doing most to meet the problem?

(a) *The School.*

The importance of the school as an Americanization force lies chiefly in its effect upon the second generation; yet indirectly it affects the adult immigrant himself,⁹ in as much as his children, consciously and unconsciously, influence him in the same direction. A considerable number of immigrants, also, come as children and can and do attend school.

One very striking instance of the assimilating activity of the public school is found in the immigrant districts of Boston. In the "North End" the public school has to deal with a child population of which more than 90 per cent. is Hebrew and Italian.¹⁰ At least one-half of the children were born on foreign soil and the remainder came from homes scarcely touched by American influences. The effect of the public school on this mass of foreigners is marvelous in spite of the fact that 75 per cent. of the pupils never reach the eighth grade. The "South End" of Boston does not consist of immigrant colonies, but of a mixture of nationalities,¹¹ and this very fact results in an even greater success for the school.

⁸U. S. Com. of Immigration Reports, 1905.

⁹U. S. Ind. Com., Vol. 15, p. 475.

¹⁰"Americans in Process," p. 272.

¹¹"City Wilderness," p. 40.

The church schools in these districts are much inferior to the public schools as Americanizers. It is even claimed that, in some respects, they are a hindrance.¹² Evening schools for adults tend to do for the adults what the public school do for the children, but on a much smaller scale.

The coal fields of Pennsylvania are another example of Americanization through the medium of the public school. The schools here are not in themselves inefficient,¹³ but their effect upon the immigrant child is not as it is in many other immigrant centers. The trouble lies in the fact that the children do not attend to a sufficient age. In the Schuylkill region 95 per cent. of the pupils do not go above the common grades.¹⁴ In small mining camps from 90 to 95 per cent. of the scholars do not go beyond the primary department. The parents take the boys out of school, in many cases, at the age of twelve and set them to work in breakers, mills and factories. Yet, even in this alarming condition, President Mitchell calls the public school the greatest Americanization force in the coal fields.¹⁵

In these coal fields there are also many parochial schools. They are very generally upheld by the Hungarians, Lithuanians, Poles and Slavs. On the other hand, the Ruthenians seldom send a child to a church school. As in the case of the Boston immigrant districts, these church schools are much inferior as Americanizers.

Another specific instance of Americanization through schools is found in the iron centers. Here the success of the public schools is in marked contrast with that in the coal fields of Pennsylvania. Even the Hungarians, who are so woefully delinquent in the coal fields, send the child to school longer than the law requires.

The factory towns of New England furnish further evidence. "At present the Americanizing process is going forward almost as rapidly as the foreign elements are being introduced."¹⁶ These towns seem to bear out the general coincidence, that in localities where assimilation is very rapid the schools are efficient, and that wherever it is slow the schools are comparatively poor.

¹²Am. in Process, p. 376.

¹³Roberts, p. 54; Anthracite Coal Strike Com. Report, p. 470.

¹⁴Roberts, Anthra. Coal Communities, p. 166.

¹⁵Mitchell: Organized Labor, p. 184.

¹⁶Spahr "America's Working People," p. 21.

What does the School Do to Americanize the Immigrant?

The following are some of the main Americanizing activities of the public school:

1. It at once throws the children of different nationalities into mutual relationship. This inevitably breaks up the habits of any one of the foreign nationalities. The next step is, then, to adopt a common way of thinking and acting, which practically means the adoption of the American standard. This does not, however, apply to exclusive foreign colonies where schools may consist of a single nationality. In many cases it not only means the forced association of different nationalities, but of an immigrant child with children who are already Americanized. It is evident that in this case, which is the normal one, the immigrant child necessarily loses its foreign ideas and unconsciously adopts the thoughts and activities of the American companions. Even in the so-called foreign colonies, where schools are filled with practically a single nationality, the unamericanized will be obliged to see the customs of those of their own nationality who are already partly Americanized.

2. The public school teaches the children the English language. This enables them to associate with the various nationalities in their community, even outside of the school.

It is probably necessary that a distinction be drawn here between the country and the city. The testimony is universal that the English language is essential for Americanization in the city. Yet in the country it is quite plain that the English language is not necessary in order to secure a very considerable degree of Americanization. There are many farmers in the northwest who cannot speak English and yet they are acquainted with the American methods of agriculture. There are settlements of Bohemians, Germans and Scandinavians in Wisconsin and Michigan who cannot speak English, but they are Americans in practically every other sense.

3. The public school tends to break up hostility between nationalities. Not only is this the natural consequence of the close association between the children of different nationalities in the school, but the teacher prevents its open appearance and teaches the existence of common interests. Social solidarity is secured.

4. It teaches American traditions and the history of our insti-

tutions. This again means a breaking up of race ties and a building up of social solidarity. Under this comes, also, the growth of American patriotism, which, while not important industrially, is a step toward the assimilation of minds and wills.

5. The public school is the first and chief trainer of the immigrant child's mind to fit it for originality and inventiveness. It enlarges the child's capacity.

6. The introduction of machinery makes it essential that labor shift from one kind of work to another. The public school, in training the minds of the children, fits them to meet this versatility in American industry.

7. The American characteristic of aspiration to reach a higher plane of production is transmitted to the immigrant child. This Americanizes the thoughts of the immigrant.

8. Finally, the public school, by the introduction of manual training, not only tends to give the child some idea of American industrial methods, but teaches him that manual work is here the universal rule and is not a stamp of inferiority.

Little need be said of the parochial schools. Opinions differ even as to whether or not they are a positive hindrance to Americanization. It seems, however, that they do something toward assimilation. In many cases they mean the break-up of foreign nationality by bringing several nationalities into association. At times they bring unamericanized children into contact with Americanized children. They also teach some of the branches taught in the public schools.

On the other hand, it is to be remembered that these church schools often consist of but a single nationality, and that means the strengthening of race ties. Then, too, the church school frequently leads to priest domination, which is the very opposite of original thinking, of inventiveness, of individual ambition and of the participation of the immigrant in industrial, social and political control. Finally, the church school frequently not only hinders the adoption of the English language, but tends to perpetuate foreign languages.

The influence of industrial schools outside of the public school is conceded. "The industrial school plants itself squarely between the tenement and the public school."¹⁷ The Americanization is

¹⁷J. A. Ellis, "The Children of the Poor," Chap. XII.

mostly industrial, but aside from this it is much like that of the public school. Evening schools, wherever they do not fail, are to the adult, on a limited scale, what the public school is to the child.

Extent to Which the School Reaches the Immigrants.

Table II contains the percentage of white persons of foreign birth, foreign parentage and native parentage, who attended school in the United States in 1900. The one marked point is that nativity causes but little difference in the attendance during this period of the child's life. For the whole United States the per cent. of attendance for children of foreign parentage is the highest (71 per cent.), for those of foreign birth it is second (68.6 per cent.) and for those of native parentage it is actually the lowest (65.2 per cent.). The statistics for separate States show, however, that this very low per cent. in the case of native parentage is largely due to the Southern States. Yet if there is any general difference, it leans in the direction of the children of foreign parentage.

TABLE II.

Percentage of White Population, Five to Fifteen Years of Age, Attending School in 1900.

	Nat. Parentage.	For. Parentage.	Foreign Born.
United States	65.2	71.6	68.6
Alabama	44.0	57.0	51.7
California	71.0	74.0	75.0
Connecticut	75.0	75.0	74.0
Delaware	64.0	68.0	60.8
Georgia	52.0	67.0	68.0
Illinois	71.0	66.0	69.0
Indiana	72.0	72.0	74.8
Massachusetts	81.0	78.0	74.0
New York	74.0	73.0	71.4
Pennsylvania	71.0	67.0	59.0
Wisconsin	75.0	74.0	73.0

Computation from U. S. Census of Pop., Vol. II, 1900.

The extent to which these schools are effective in influencing those children whom they reach varies for different communities and nationalities. Illiteracy, however, may show something about the subject in general. While it is not claimed that an illiterate

man is not an American and that a literate man is, it does indicate whether or not the school has influenced him. It is safe to say that if the school has changed the child from a condition of illiteracy to one of literacy he has been Americanized to a large extent.

Table III presents the percentages of illiteracy of persons ten years of age and over, according to nativity. For the entire country the illiteracy is greater for persons of native parentage than for those of foreign parentage. Even in smaller geographical divisions the same difference is shown, both in the Northern and Southern States. More trustworthy results, however, are secured by examining the percentages for single cities. Of the twenty-seven cities tabulated in Table IV, twelve have a higher percentage of illiteracy for native than for foreign parentage, twelve have it higher for foreign than for native parentage, and three show no variation. Of the twelve cities, however, showing greater illiteracy for native than for foreign parentage, seven are southern cities. For the industrial cities of the North, therefore, which really contain the immigration problem, the proportion of illiteracy in the case of native parentage is lower than in the case of foreign parentage. Comparing this with Table III, it follows that in the country the population of foreign parentage is less illiterate than that of native parentage, while in the city the opposite is true.

The illiteracy of persons actually foreign born varies all the way from 24.1 per cent. in Fall River to 2.2 per cent. in Montgomery. In almost one-half of these cities it is above 10 per cent. Thus, while in the case of immigrants illiteracy goes as high as 24.1 per cent., in the case of the second generation it in no case goes above 2.1 per cent. Certainly, therefore, the schools were successful in influencing the children which they reached.

TABLE III.

*Percentage of Illiteracy of Native White Population of Native Parentage
Ten Years of Age or Over.*

	1900.	1890.
United States	5.7	7.5
North Atlantic Division	1.7	2.4
South Atlantic Division	12.0	15.4
North-Central Division	2.8	4.1
South-Central Division	11.6	15.6
West Division	3.4	5.6

Percentage of Illiteracy of Native White Population of Foreign Parentage Ten Years of Age or Over.

	1900.	1890.
United States	1.6	2.2
North Atlantic Division	1.5	2.1
South Atlantic Division	2.1	3.0
North-Central Division	1.3	1.9
South-Central Division	6.8	7.0
West Division	1.3	2.0

Percentage of Illiteracy of Foreign Born Population Ten Years of Age or Over.

	1900.	1890.
United States	12.9	13.1
North Atlantic Division	15.9	15.6
South Atlantic Division	12.9	12.2
North-Central Division	9.4	10.6
South-Central Division	22.8	20.2
West Division	8.5	10.4

TABLE IV.

Percentage of Persons Ten Years of Age or Over Who Are Illiterate in Certain Cities of the United States.

CITY.	Native Whites. Native Parentage.	Native Whites. Foreign Parentage.	Foreign Born.
Allegheny .....	.5	.7	13.1
Atlanta .....	.3	.9	8.6
Augusta .....	.7	.4	6.1
Baltimore	1.3	1.2	12.9
Boston .....	.1	.3	11.3
Buffalo .....	.4	.6	12.0
Chicago .....	.2	.3	8.2
Cincinnati .....	.8	.6	8.9
Cleveland .....	.3	.3	10.7
Dallas	1.4	.8	8.0
Detroit	4.0	.6	8.6
Erie, Pa.	4.0	.6	9.3
Fall River	1.1	.2	24.1
Galveston	2.5	.8	6.1
Kansas City, Mo. ....	.7	.6	8.8
Louisville	1.9	1.0	10.8
Milwaukee .....	.2	.4	8.8
Minneapolis .....	.2	.3	4.4
Montgomery	1.7	.1	2.2
Nashville	1.5	.3	9.9

CITY.	Native Whites. Native Parentage.	Native Whites. Foreign Parentage.	Foreign Born.
New Orleans	2.0	2.0	18.3
New York .....	.6	.5	13.9
Philadelphia .....	.5	.6	12.1
Pittsburgh .....	.5	.8	15.1
San Francisco .....	.2	.2	5.6
Scranton	1.0	2.1	20.9
St. Louis	1.0	.9	9.8

Furthermore, it was seen that the illiteracy of those immigrants who are coming more and more each year is very high compared with that of the nationalities who formerly comprised the bulk of immigration. This means that each year more illiteracy enters the United States, yet the illiteracy of the population of foreign parentage is practically the same as, or lower than that of native parentage. The illiteracy of the population of foreign parentage has actually decreased between the years 1890 and 1900.

It was shown above that the problem of Americanization is, on the whole, becoming more difficult. Yet, the effective way in which the school meets the difficulty in certain specific instances, the permanent elements of American life which it instills into the immigrant child, and the great extent to which it is reaching the immigrant children, indicate that, even now, the school goes far toward a solution of the problem. In the future this will be even more true because of the increasing prevalence of compulsory school attendance laws and the growing stringency of the laws concerning child labor.

(b) *Trade Unionism.*

While the school is the greatest Americanization force for the second generation, it has but an indirect effect upon the adult. The problem of how to induce this adult immigrant to adopt American life is rapidly coming to be a function of trade unionism. Professor Ripley says:¹⁸ "Whatever our judgment is as to the expediency of the industrial policy of our American trade unions, no student of contemporary conditions can deny that they are a mighty factor in affecting the assimilation of our foreign population."

Several limitations must be noted in giving trade unions a

¹⁸W. Z. Ripley, *At. Mo.*, ap., 1904, p. 299.

relative position among other Americanizing forces. First, their influence is generally limited to the first generation; their effect upon the second generation is much inferior to that of other forces. Second, their influence applies only to the city. Third, their aggregate effect has as yet been of comparatively short duration, as the movement toward the unskilled immigrants is but a recent development.

The most pronounced instance of union Americanization is the activity of the United Mine Workers. There are twenty-six nationalities now working in the coal fields,¹⁹ with a growing difficulty in the form of a movement away from the mines by the Irish, Welsh, English, Germans, and Scotch, and the coming in of an increasing number of Poles, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Italians, and Bohemians. To-day the union members consist of over 90 per cent. of foreign birth, one-half of whom cannot speak the English language.²⁰ Before the union entered, these people were formed into hostile groups, which made Americanization impossible. The Lithuanians, for example, were bitter enemies of the Poles; the Magyars were the enemies of the Slovaks. At first separate nationalities had separate unions, because they could not be induced to organize together. In this form they were first taught that they had common interests. Then it was that men of the common nationalities and districts were organized together. Now it is not so much a question as to whether a man is Polish or Italian, as to whether he is union or non-union.

Addresses are made in two, three or even more languages, but the association of the various nationalities must inevitably result in the adoption of the English tongue. The union is also breaking up the domination of the priest. Again, it teaches the immigrant that he is not working because of the generosity of the boss. It also teaches these men the power to sacrifice something for a cause, and consequently leads them to recognize something more than private interests. Finally, it has increased wages, reduced hours, and improved other working conditions.²¹ Without this the pauper immigrant would not have the ability to adopt the American standard of life.

¹⁹Roberts, p. 19.

²⁰Ripley, *At. Mo.*, ap., 1904, p. 299.

²¹*Anthra. Coal Strike Com. Report*, Ect. Ect

The unions of the clothing trades have also done much to Americanize the immigrants. The present weakness of the United Garment Workers is but temporary, and their history indicates what can be expected in the future. In New York City the union began twenty years ago,²² and, with periods of success and failure, although controlled by the Jews, finally abolished the sweatshop and task system, increased wages and reduced hours of labor, secured large factories in many instances and steam power instead of foot power. Thus it Americanized the industry itself, and made the Americanization of the immigrants in other directions a possibility.

Then it was that assimilation advanced in other directions. In the 1904 strike, while many of the immigrants did not know exactly why there was a strike, they struck because they thought their union was in danger. In other words, they knew how to fight for a cause. Those union men who worked for independent employers paid from 15 to 20 per cent. of their wages to support the strikers,²³ many of whom were non-union men and not even Jews, but Italians and Lithuanians. When a Jew voluntarily does that, one can say that he is no longer a Jew. He is at least partly Americanized. Ties of nationality are being broken. Americans, Germans, Lithuanians, Italians, Irish and Scotch are in the same union, and are harmonious. Furthermore, when the Jews arrive they, more than any other nationality, are timid and fear the employer. During the recent strike, however, they considered their union as unconquerable, and expressed confidence and fearlessness. This leads to participation in the control of business by the employee, a great step toward Americanization.

The Longshoreman's Union has also been particularly active among the immigrants. This union has a mixture of nationalities such as probably no other union can lay claim to having, and has the worst elements of those nationalities. Drunkenness prevailed and feuds existed between hostile "gangs" headed by inhuman stevedores. Although the union was organized as recently as in 1892,²⁴ it has destroyed the stevedore system everywhere except in Chicago, Buffalo and Milwaukee, and has at the same time increased wages and reduced hours—thus preparing the way for rapid assimilation.

²²U. S. Ind. Com. Rept., 15: 327.

²³Baker, *McClure's Monthly*, Dec., 1904, p. 129.

²⁴Ind. Com., 17: 264.

lation.²⁵ The joint agreement,²⁶ which, in contrast with the stevedore system, means very great participation in industrial control by the workman, has been widely adopted. The old feuds between nationalities have also been destroyed by the union. Better homes are secured, and an ambition to rise out of the position of mere unskilled labor is growing. Drunkenness is prohibited by the union constitution,²⁷ and there is a growing movement toward self-improvement—all of which are steps toward Americanization.

Further evidence of union activity among immigrants can be found in such industries as the lady garment makers' trade of Chicago, the meat-packing industry, and the textile industry, but space will not permit an explanation of these.

What Does the Union do to Americanize the Immigrants?

Some of the most important activities in this direction are the following:

1. The union teaches the immigrants self-government. It is the first place where they learn to govern their own activities and to obey officers whom they themselves elect, where each has a vote, and each can state his grievances, not to be remedied by some superior force, as in his native country, but by himself and his fellow-workmen.
2. The union gives the immigrant a sense of common cause, which leads to a sense of public, not merely private, interest.
3. It throws different nationalities into united groups, so that the foreign nationality of any one of them becomes lost. The next step is to adopt a common way of thinking and acting, which is Americanization.
4. It often brings foreigners into direct association with members of unions who have already been partly or wholly assimilated. These foreigners then learn to see the difference between the customs of these assimilated workmen and their own.
5. The union usually requires every member to be a citizen of the United States, or to have declared his intention of becoming one.

²⁵Ind. Com., 19: 316; 17: 777.

²⁶Stewart, "Commons," April, 1904, p. 180.

²⁷Ind. Com., 9: 11.

6. It develops foresight in the immigrant. In fact, the very act of joining a union is an evidence of foresight.²⁸

7. It does away with the arbitrary dictation of bosses and employers, and introduces the idea of partial control of the industry by the employee.

8. The union shows the immigrant that he does not hold his "job" solely because of the generosity or personal favor of the employer, but because he has an inherent right to work.

9. It does away with priest rule.

10. It raises the immigrant's wages, reduces his hours and improves his physical working conditions. In other words, it enables him to adopt the American social and moral standard of living.

11. It breaks up hostilities between nationalities. This is not only in itself a step toward Americanization, but is essential before the immigrants can begin to adopt the thoughts and activities of Americans.

Extent to Which the Union Effectively Reaches the Immigrant.

The extent to which the union effectively reaches the immigrant in certain specific instances has been shown above. Statistical statement for the entire country is impossible. It varies with different nationalities. On the one hand, the "English and Scotch take to team work like ducks to water."²⁹ Bohemians are also "ardent unionists" when once organized, and are known as faithful "stickers"; yet until very recently the labor movement has not made much progress among them. Swedes are hard to organize, but when once organized are good members. Their success is shown in the clothing industry, where, in the special order division, they have the most successful union in the entire industry. The Irish of the upper class are not only ardent members, but very often control unions in which the mass consists of other nationalities. The Irish of the lower class, however, are shiftless, and consequently have a very unstable membership. Germans will not organize unless a good reason is pointed out to them. Then they readily join and become good members.

²⁸City Wilderness, p. 109.

²⁹Ripley, *At. Mon.*, April, 1904.

On the other hand, Poles are very poor unionists. They are much more successful as strike-breakers than as union members. Jews have a queer idea of trade unionism. They look at it as a matter of bargaining in a trade, seeing little use for a union in time of peace. Even when they have a union in time of peace, it has a constantly fluctuating membership, and they engage in socialistic discussion rather than in strengthening it. French Canadians also have little aptitude for organization, but usually can be induced to join. Syrians and Armenians not only resent all attempts at organization, but are hated by other nationalities. Until recently there were no Syrian unions, but even they too made a beginning. Greeks are hated by unionists even more than are the Poles. They are known as professional strike-breakers.³⁰ Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Hungarians, Magyars, Slovaks, Finns and Portuguese are all classified as nationalities not easily unionized. Yet they can and have been successfully organized in some industries. Lithuanians have been organized in the meat-packing and clothing trades; Slovaks in the meat-packing trade and coal mines; Hungarians in the coal mines and longshoreman's trade; Ruthenians and Magyars in the coal mines, and Finns and Portuguese in the longshoreman's trade.

But even though the extent of union activity differs with different nationalities, there is a general movement of unionism toward unskilled labor.³¹ Industries and trades are being more and more subdivided, so that unskilled labor can be introduced to displace skilled labor. This means that the union must organize these unskilled men. To adopt that policy means that each year the immigrant from southern and southeastern Europe will receive more attention from the union.

Especially in large manufacturing and mining centers, the union is assuming a new and special form in order to meet the occasion, as is manifested in the industrial union instead of the strict trade union. Hundreds of trained and salaried organizers are sent out by the American Federation of Labor,³² and by individual unions, for the express purpose of rushing the unskilled workers into the union. As never before, circulars are sent out, speeches are made and labor magazines and papers agitate for the

³⁰Commons, *Qua. Jour. Econ.*, 19: 28.

³¹Walling, *Ann. Am. Acad.*, Sept., 1904.

³²Reports Am. Fed. Labor—Sec. and Pres.

rapid organization of all workmen. Membership rules are becoming more and more lax in all but the very strongest unions, while organizers no longer aim to secure men of high efficiency, but to secure all workmen.

In a single year the Carpenter's Union granted 534 new union charters, the Longshoremen 171, the United Mine Workers 690, the Blacksmiths 130, the Meat Cutters and Butchers 140, and other unions in immigrant trades formed large numbers of new locals. The increased membership of unions in the immigrant trades, also, demonstrates the rapid extension toward the immigrants. In a single year the voting strength of the United Garment Workers' Union, in the American Federation of Labor, has, for example, increased from 53 in 1896 to 457 in 1903,³³ the Longshoremen's Union from 40 to 400, the United Mine Workers from 154 to 2173, the Carpenters' Union from 200 to 1090, the Brewery Workers from 75 to 300, and the Tailors' Union from 59 to 138.

It was determined first, therefore, that the immigrant, when he enters the union, becomes Americanized, at least to a very considerable degree. Industrially he is there wholly Americanized, and socially he is slightly Americanized. Second, it has been shown that unionism already has a large number of immigrants within its ranks, and that every effort is being made to increase the number. Combine these two facts and it follows that, as was first stated, trade unionism is the greatest Americanization force for the adult immigrants in the cities and large industrial centers.

(c) *Physical Environment and the Presence of American Life.*

Not a little Americanizing influence is exerted by the physical conditions in which the immigrant lives after he arrives in the United States.³⁴ Climate, for example, compels a change of dress, manner of living and kind of occupation. Physical environment tends to destroy his old habits and customs, and he adopts in their place American habits and customs, because they are better suited to American physical conditions.

In the beginning of our history, the strongest Americanizing

³³Report Am. Fed. Labor (Sec.), 1903.

³⁴Mayo-Smith, Pol. Sci. Qua., 9 : 439.

force was "frontier life," which is a form of physical environment. Under its influence the immigrants were transformed so rapidly and silently that there was not until recently such a problem as modern Americanization. This force is, of course, diminishing in importance, but in the country of to-day there exists something very much like it. Even when immigrants live in colonies, they frequently become Americans, in the first generation.⁸⁵ Still there are no unions in the country, and the schools are inferior to those of the city. Why is it that they Americanize? Quite probably it is because of this force of physical environment, in the form of frontier life, slightly modified. These immigrants do not Americanize as rapidly or as completely as they did years ago, but they Americanize in a similar way. It is slower than in the city—but it is permanent. It is the distinguishing feature of Americanization in the country.

In the city it is essential to note the Americanizing influence which is exercised by the mere presence of American life. There is a continual rush of industry. In order to live the immigrant must work largely at American occupations, and this, either through the boss or through competition, compels him to adopt American industrial methods. He sees the American system of government, the American way of living, American activity and American ideals. The difference between them and his own must influence him in the direction of those he sees all about him on the streets and at his work.

The extent to which this Americanizes the immigrant depends partly upon his inherent ability to assimilate. A race which crowds into colonies and avoids other nationalities is not as much affected in this way as one which willingly lives among the people of other countries. But even in such cases this force cannot be disregarded. All nationalities, also, have not as great a sense of observation as the Jew. All are not held back by the same home ties as the Italian. All have not as receptive minds as the Irish, and the intentions of one class are not as favorable as are those of another.

Still, although limited in many ways, the force of physical environment and the presence of American life have an Americanizing influence which should not be disregarded.

⁸⁵U. S. Ind. Com., 15: 500.

(d) The Church.

The action of the church as an Americanization force is much like that of the parochial school. It does something to Americanize the immigrant; but, also, in another sense, acts as a hindrance. Its greatest influence is in molding the morals of the immigrant. In a certain sense, also, it acts as a co-ordinating force. Many nationalities comprising the great bulk of immigration belong to the same denomination—the Catholic. So it is with the Italians, the Bohemians, the Irish, Spanish, Portuguese, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Slavonians, Polanders, and most of the people from southeastern Europe. It is to be noted, however, that the bitterest hatred often exists between these very nationalities who belong to the same denomination. The church, in some instances, tends to bring Americanized immigrants into association with unamericanized immigrants. It also tends to prevent lawlessness. It informs the immigrant what the new laws are and how they differ from those of his native country. It tells him what the new country expects of him socially, politically, and industrially. Finally, the church does something to obliterate slum conditions, thus not merely raising the immigrant's standard of life, but making it possible for other Americanization forces to permanently affect him.

On the other hand, the church makes possible "priest domination," which is the opposite of American thinking and activity. It tends to perpetuate the foreign language. Then, too, the very fact that in immigrant districts a church often consists of a single nationality, makes possible a hatred between nationalities. Furthermore, the church often works in opposition to the public school, and sometimes in opposition to the union. It frequently enters politics in the objectional form in which the priest orders the members of his church to vote for certain men and issues. This is the very opposite of American thought and activity. Finally, the teachings of the church are, in many cases, brought to the United States by the immigrants themselves, and in this way tend to remind men of the past and to perpetuate foreign thoughts and customs.

The extent to which the church reaches the immigrants varies with different churches and nationalities. It is safe to say that the church which most affects them is the Roman Catholic. This is

only true, however, because more and more of the immigrants are annually coming from the Catholic countries.

Attendance differs with nationalities. The Italians, for example, care much less for the church in the United States than they did in Italy. On the other hand, the Irish, in as much as they found the church the very bulwark of their liberty at home, remain with it wherever they go; but even they often patronize the public instead of the church school. Other nationalities especially under the influence of the Catholic Church are the Slavs, Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Polanders.

The first generation of the Jews, even more than the Catholic nationalities, are under the influence of the church. They will choose one occupation instead of another in order to attend to their church affairs. But with them there is also a tendency to desert the church after they have been here for some time. One Jew said: "My father prays every day; I pray once a week; my son never prays."⁸⁶

The Protestant churches also exert some influence, but it is not so much among the immigrants of the industrial centers. They affect Englishmen, Germans, Scandinavians and those nationalities in general who formerly composed the bulk of immigration. Their influence, wherever it exists at all, is, with some exceptions, more rapid and permanent than in the case of the Jewish and Catholic churches, because they do not offer so much resistance to the introduction of the English language.

(e) *Politics.*

In 1900 56.8 per cent. of the foreign born males of voting age in the United States were naturalized, 8.3 per cent. had filed their first papers, 14.9 per cent. were unknown, and 20 per cent. were aliens.⁸⁷ Thus, politics directly affects considerably more than the majority of the immigrants.

In the past this influence of politics upon the immigrants has done much to assimilate them.⁸⁸ Its effect to-day depends upon its local conditions. On the one hand, in many of the large industrial centers the political "boss" has some control over the immigrant's

⁸⁶"Americans in Process," p. 272.

⁸⁷U. S. Census on Pop., 1900.

⁸⁸Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9: 665.

"job." He orders him to vote for a certain candidate, and the immigrant, through fear of his displeasure, votes as he is told. The ballot, under such conditions, is not an exercise of a right, but of a compulsory order, whose every detail is determined, not by the immigrant, but by the political boss. Such a condition does not mean the participation in government by the multitude, and certainly does not lead to a condition in which the workman will participate in the control of industry. It is the very opposite, for it tells the immigrant that his "job" belongs to him, not because of his right to work, but because of the pleasure of some other person.

On the other hand, in the case of those immigrants who are not in the power of the political boss of the immigrant colonies, politics is one of the most striking differences between American life and life in their native country. When they vote it is an expression of their will, and inevitably spurs them on to learn how to express that will more intelligently. It tells them that they are part of society; that they have a voice in the control of their actions, and that their interests are not merely private, but are public. Every important step in our political system, to them, means further adoption of American life.

(f) *Miscellaneous Forces.*

The *press* acts as an Americanization force in the case of some immigrants. It does little, however, to assimilate those non-English-speaking nationalities who are becoming most important as immigrants. The constant opposition of some newspapers against such immigrants as the Italians, Poles and Hungarians is likely to cause hostility between these immigrants and the Americans. Furthermore, the English press, in the case of these immigrants, can reach directly only the second generation, as in most instances the first generation cannot read the English language. There are some papers printed in the languages of these people, however, and these, while handicapped by the very language which they use, often convey American principles to the foreigners. Some of them discuss political, social and economic issues much as English papers do, and in this way tend to change the immigrant's thought and activity.

In the case of those nationalities who speak English and those who are welcomed to the United States by the newspapers, such as the English, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, Germans, and Scandinavians, the

English press acts as an assimilator. Yet even here it must be noted that many of the papers are ruled by the same spirit which dominates politics in some of the industrial centers.

Little need be said of *books* and *libraries*. They tend to assimilate certain classes of immigrants, but they do not reach those who are hardest to assimilate and those who need it most.

Private immigrant aid societies, also, need but be mentioned. Only when more of them have been formed and when they have operated for some time can their real value be ascertained.

Municipal governments are, also, beginning to undertake activities which tend to assimilate the immigrants, at least from the social standpoint. They prevent unsanitary tenement houses, thus forcing a change in the home life of some of the immigrants and improving their social condition. They introduce public playgrounds, which tend to throw the children of the immigrants into association with other children. They establish baths, they minimize drunkenness and make efforts to prevent pauperism. All this aids in the movement of assimilation.

The *theaters*,⁸⁰ *popular amusements*,⁸⁰ "*boys' clubs*," *private societies* of various kinds, even *American slang* and the street life which prevails in the large cities, all act as assimilators. There is no more potent factor in the lives of some of the immigrant children than the influences which they meet on the streets.

Finally, it is necessary to consider, briefly, the activity of the *employer* as an Americanizer. In this respect, employers must be considered as individuals and not as a class, for many care nothing about Americanization, and others actually oppose it. Some of them, however, voluntarily give their workmen high wages, reasonable hours, and good physical and sanitary conditions of labor. In this way employers enable the immigrant to adopt the American standard of life, at least in the economic field. Again, in many instances employers have adopted the factory in preference to the sweatshop. The factory takes the immigrant out of his home and compels him to work with other workmen, many of whom are already Americanized and of different nationalities. Sometimes employers purposely employ men of different nationalities to prevent clannishness. Besides, the factory system is in itself a revelation to the immigrant from southern Europe. It means the compulsory adoption of American methods.

⁸⁰ Mayo-Smith, *Pol. Sci. Qua.*, 9 : 653.

Many employers are in favor of the organization of their workmen, and are, therefore, entitled to some of the credit given to trade unionism. The movement of the so-called "welfare work," but recently established on an organized basis,⁴⁰ is also significant. Many of the private libraries and the industrial and evening schools are the work of employers. Not a few employers recognize the principle that the workmen have a right to participate in the control of industry, as is seen in the growth of the joint agreement. Correlative with this is the growing practice of certain employers to encourage originality and inventiveness. Finally, the railroads, who must be classed as employers, carry immigrants from one region to another that is entirely different, thus introducing influences which tend to break up their foreign characteristics. Some railroads distribute immigrants by transporting whole colonies out of the cities into the country.

III. CONCLUSION.

The problem of the Americanization of the immigrant is very huge in proportion, and is becoming increasingly complex. The number of immigrants, together with the population of foreign parentage, might seem threatening to Americanism. This large bulk is annually increasing, and a greater and greater proportion of the increase each year consists of nationalities who are inherently more difficult to Americanize than were the immigrants of the past.

But, however rapidly the difficulties of Americanization may be increasing, the efficiency and activity of the forces of Americanization are increasing even more rapidly. The most promising field for Americanization is with the second generation, and it is here that the public school stands pre-eminent. The chief hope of Americanizing the adult immigrant lies with trade unionism, whose rapid adoption of Americanization as a function is applauded even by those who condemn most of its policies. Physical environment, the church, politics, the employer, and also numerous miscellaneous forces exert an Americanizing influence to a greater or less degree.

New forces are being developed; old methods are, with some exceptions, being increasingly perfected. The problem, both in its increasing scope and complexity, is being met by the forces of Americanization.

⁴⁰ Rept. Welfare Dept. of The Am. Civic Federation (1904).